2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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is why the otter can remember nothing at all now." Thus, then, the appearance of the Ainu upon earth is all owing to the divine Aeoina, and his imperfections are all owing to the imperfections of his maker and the otter.

I know of a certain place called "Axe-rock." It is in shape more or less like a big, broad axe lying with the edge up. It is a small hill lying a little way off the end of a big mountain to which it is connected by a low, narrow neck, which is taken for the axe helve. I was once told that this is supposed to be one of the sixty axes with which the divine one knocked Yezo into shape. The Ainu idea of creation is by no means like that of many Europeans, for they thoroughly believe that "nothing produces nothing." *Ex nihilo nihil fit.*

When writing about the status of women in a previous chapter, I mentioned how the fact of the Western coasts of Hokkaidō being so very rough and rugged is accounted for by the garrulity of a woman, who, instead of attending to her business in a proper manner, went gossiping with another woman and so in the end, working too hurriedly in order to make up for lost time, finished her task in a very slovenly manner. This making of Hokkaidō was simply a knocking of the island into shape and thereby rendering it fit for habitation. The Ainu take it for granted that matter is eternal.

Given the primal elements, they strive to account for the many different kinds and manifestations of organic life, and also for the existence of inorganic substances, in their own rude and thoroughly animistic way. Being the sons of nature that they are, they are fond of theorizing about what meets the eye, and often allow their imaginations to run away with both judgement and reason to an absurdly ridiculous extent. According to them, there is very little difference between vegetable, animal and spirit life—between the life of a plant and that of a reptile, man, demon, angel

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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or god. Indeed, they look upon Heaven and God as the macrocosms and the earth and man as the microcosms, and as it is above, so is it below.

As for producing things, the Supreme God is supposed to have made the world, a demon made rats and some such vermin, while Aeoina, the divine one, made snakes, eels and some other beings. Some things, such as fish, for example, were formed out of bones cast out of Heaven after a celestial feast. Hares were evolved out of hair plucked from the skins of heavenly deer; squirrels were made out of the cast-off shoes of Aeoina, while some fishes came out of the scales of such of these creatures as had been eaten in Heaven. The skylark is really a heavenly bird which was banished to this world for disobedience. Bears and sea-lions came out of sparks. We have already accounted for the origin of fleas.

The beautiful flower, the adonis, is said to have been a Goddess, who was changed from her real heavenly state and banished to this earth by a curse from God and the pine-marten. Frogs had their origin in a woman who was cursed for bad conduct, and the grebe and diver kind, in general, are said to have been developed out of the uneatable parts of a trout. It is a very great jumble out of which a clever story teller might manufacture tales *ad libitum* and *ad infinitum*. In fact, as some of us understand Darwin, in the Ainu we

A STONE AXE

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6Ainu AB6

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

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121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

782 exploiting resources in the territory of a different river group. According to Kazari from Otopuke the *ikoro* received as *ashimpe* in relation to those activities was kept and stewarded by the headman and was called *kamui korube*, *kamui*'s property, as distinguished from Ainu's properties. TAKAKURA points out that *ashimpe* is not a mere fine but an offering to *kamui* or an act of giving which expresses one's apology (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 39).

171 82 70 The building up in this wise of a system of social relations between man and natural phenomena presents a marked contrast to that on the principle of origin or kinship as seen, for instance, in Arunta totemism. The Ainu system is related closely with their way of ordering nature in terms of spatial orientation. In this connection the present writer is deeply interested in the Northwest Coast Indians of North America. A comparison reveals a striking similarity between their beliefs concerning salmon (DRUCKER, 1950, p. 283) and those of the Ainu. Elements reported as native to the Northwest Coast such as 'the belief in the immortality of game' and 'the ritual requirement of honoring captured animals and of returning certain parts' (DRUCKER, 1955, p. 71) are common with the Ainu. The close similarity in form of belief and ritual may conceal a great difference in meaning and function. Yet the present writer cannot but wonder what parts are played in the system of social solidarity between the Northwest Coast Indians and their habitat by such spatial elements as, for instance, laying down the first-caught salmon with heads pointing upstream, throwing pieces of meat in prescribed directions, placing the bear head eastward (DRUCKER, 1950) and the esoteric formula spoken before various rocks and spots that mark the abodes of their spirits (GUNTHER, 1928, p. 143). It is also interesting to see that the Japanese and the Tungus are another peoples who emphasize the ordering of nature spirits on local basis and the establishment of the ritual relationship between man and nature on the principle of local contiguity (WATANABE, 1964).